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rent of enthusiasm. We have a commonplace, hackneyed sort of enthusiasm, on the subject of liberty, republican principles, &c. ; but this is so common a theme of declamation in all assemblies, from Congress to the bar room, that it is ordinary and tame, except now and then, when raised for the moment by some fortunate effort, or remarkable brilliancy. But on the subject of our naval skill and prowess, although we are not willing to confess it, we are, yet, real enthusiasts. This is a string to which the national feeling vibrates certainly and deeply ; and this string the author has touched with effect.

ART. XIX.—1. *Journal of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, during his Second Visit to New Zealand, from July to October, 1819.* Contained in the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, London, for the Years 1821, 1822.

2. *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand.* BY RICHARD A. CRUISE, Esq. Captain in the 84th Regiment of Foot. London, 1823. pp. 321.

LITTLE was known of New Zealand, till visited by captain Cook in his first voyage round the world, although it had been discovered by Tasman, a Dutch navigator, as early as 1642. Tasman traversed the eastern coast for several hundred miles, but being attacked by the natives, while at anchor in a bay, he did not go on shore. An old chief told Mr Marsden, that he remembered to have seen three vessels approach the coast before captain Cook's visit, and said that two of them were cut off, and their crews destroyed by the natives. At the time of Cook's first visit in 1770, this country was supposed to be part of a great southern continent, but he ascertained that it consisted of two islands, divided by a strait of four or five leagues in breadth. The northern island is six hundred miles long, and on an average about one hundred and fifty broad. The other is nearly as large. Numerous small islands are scattered in the bays, and along the coast, at no great distance from the main land. Cook's

Strait, which separates the two large islands, is in latitude forty one degrees south, and the western coast of New Zealand is about nine hundred miles southeast of New Holland.

Mr Marsden, author of one of the journals now under our notice, has been favorably known to the public during the last ten years, by his zealous and active missionary labors at Port Jackson. He has also superintended a seminary at Parramatta, designed for instructing the natives of the southern isles. In the year 1815 he made his first voyage to New Zealand, where he became acquainted with some of the chiefs, gained the confidence of the natives, and laid the foundation of a missionary establishment. Four years afterwards he again visited the same country, and took with him three missionaries, and three mechanics, with their families; and also two native New Zealanders, Tooi and Teeterree, who had been residing in England. He remained three months in the country, travelled over some of the interior districts, and recorded his observations in the journal to which we have alluded.

In January, 1820, his Majesty's ship *Dromedary* arrived in New South Wales, with three hundred and sixty nine convicts. When these were debarked, the commander, according to his instructions, proceeded to New Zealand for the purpose of obtaining a return cargo of ship timber. Captain Cook had remarked, that he thought the cowry trees, which he had seen in New Zealand, admirably fitted for masts of the larger classes of ships; and spars of this description had become so scarce, and commanded so extravagant a price in Europe, that the British government determined to make the experiment suggested by Cook. The *Dromedary* was assigned to this employment, and sailed from Port Jackson on the 15th of February. 'To facilitate the object of the *Dromedary's* present service,' says Captain Cruise, 'we were accompanied by the Rev. S. Marsden, principal chaplain to the colony of New South Wales, who established some missionaries in New Zealand, and who, from having frequently visited that Island, was considered popular among its inhabitants. He brought on board nine New Zealanders, who were all either chiefs, or the sons of people of that rank. They had been living with him at Parramatta.' The vessel had a short passage of ten days to New Zealand, and the

natives expressed great joy when they came in sight of their own country, manifesting their delight by antic gestures, running from one part of the vessel to another, and shouting the names of the headlands, and prominent objects on the coast, which successively came into their view. The first meeting of the New Zealanders on board, with their friends from the shore, is thus described by Captain Cruise.

‘ Before the ship was brought to, she was surrounded with canoes, full of the friends and relations of the chiefs we had on board. To salute them, as well as to exhibit the riches they had acquired by their visit to Port Jackson, our New Zealanders began firing their muskets without intermission, and, indeed, so prodigal were they of their powder, that one might presume little of it would remain, after their landing, for the destructive purposes for which they had gone so far to procure it. When their fathers, brothers, &c. were admitted into the ship, the scene exceeded description; the muskets were all laid aside, and every appearance of joy vanished. It is customary with these extraordinary people to go through the same ceremony upon meeting, as upon taking leave of their friends. They join their noses together, and remain in this position for at least half an hour, during which time they sob and howl in a most doleful manner. If there be any friends gathered around the person, who has returned, the nearest relation takes possession of his nose, while the others hang upon his arms, shoulders, and legs, and keep perfect time with the chief mourner, if he may be so called, in the various expressions of his lamentations. This ended, they resume their wonted cheerfulness, and enter into a detail of all that had happened during their separation. As there were nine New Zealanders just returned, and more than three times that number to commemorate the event, the howl was quite tremendous, and so novel to almost every one in the ship, that it was with difficulty our people’s attention could be kept to matters at that moment much more essential.

‘ Little Repero, who had frequently boasted during the passage, that he was too much of an Englishman ever to cry again, made a strong effort when his father, Shunghie, approached him, to keep his word; but his early habit soon got the better of his resolution, and he evinced, if possible, more distress than any of the others. There was something peculiarly respectable in the appearance of Shunghie; in person, he was a firm looking man, and was dressed in the uniform coat of a British officer. Though one of the most powerful chiefs in the Bay of Islands, and its bravest and most enterprising warrior, he was by far the least assuming of those, who had been permitted to come on board; and, while many others

tried to force their way into the cabin, he remained with his son on the deck ; nor did he attempt to go anywhere without invitation.' p. 19—21.

After the arrival of the vessel in the Bay of Islands, the officers immediately commenced their inquiries for the cowry tree, for which they were in pursuit. They encountered many embarrassments in searching for the quality they desired, although the chiefs were ready to sell any timber that might be selected, for such articles as were offered them in exchange. The large and well formed cowry trees, which only would answer the purpose, were seldom found except in low lands, and at some distance from water communication. They were often deceived, also, by the misrepresentations of the chiefs, who were jealous lest their neighbors should gain the advantage of the trade with the ship. From various obstacles the Dromedary was detained on the coast ten months, before a full cargo could be procured. During this period Captain Cruise, who commanded a guard of soldiers, and had few duties connected with his station, spent his time chiefly in observing the manners and characteristics of the people, their modes of life, peculiar habitude, and social condition. His journal is made up of the results of these observations. It is written in a plain, unambitious style, recording events as they occur, without any parade of circumstance or show of ornament.

His general statements are fully corroborated by the contemporary evidence of Mr Marsden, and the journals of the Missionaries, which have been published during the last year in the *London Missionary Register*, and in the *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*. To these combined sources we are mainly indebted for the particulars, to which we invite the attention of our readers.

We have also received considerable information from the *Journal* of our countryman John Ledyard, who accompanied Cook in his last voyage of discovery. When he returned to his native country, in 1783, he arranged the notes, which he had taken, and published them in a small volume at Hartford, in Connecticut. This work was written under many disadvantages ; it is crude in style, and but little adorned with the graces of finished composition ; but nevertheless it bears marks of a strong, original, and observing mind ; it contains

striking thoughts, and deep philosophical reflections, proving at once the quick, penetrating powers, and commanding genius of the author. His observations furnish many curious and valuable facts, some of which are not to be found in any other account of Cook's voyage. He was on shore, and standing near the great navigator, when he was killed at Owyhee, and was in imminent danger of his own life. His narrative of the causes and circumstances of this catastrophe is minute and spirited, and contains some particulars not mentioned in any other description of this event. His occasional remarks on the comparative manners, characteristics, and language of the South Sea Islanders, show a mind perpetually awake to surrounding objects, rapid in its conceptions, profound in its views of human nature, and ever active in collecting and embodying the facts, which illustrate the being and social state of man.

We understand, that a gentleman in this country is collecting materials for a life of Ledyard, which may be expected at no distant period to come before the public. Of the man, who rambled in his boyhood among the Indians on our frontiers; who was the first to descend the Connecticut River in a canoe, and in one which was constructed by his own hands, and managed in its voyage by himself alone; who studied law and divinity; who enlisted as a soldier at Gibraltar; who went round the world with Cook; projected the first trading voyage to the North West Coast; was intimate with Robert Morris in Philadelphia, with Paul Jones in Paris, with Sir Joseph Banks in London, and Professor Pallas in Petersburg; who was the friend and correspondent of Jefferson and La Fayette; who was one season in New York, the next in Spain and France, the next in Siberia, and the next under the pyramids of Egypt; who was the first to open the field of African discovery, on which, during the last thirty six years, so many have entered with an enthusiasm and love of adventure, which nothing could damp but the sacrifice of life itself; and who, in his own language, 'trampled half the globe under his feet,'—of such a man, no doubt many particulars may be related, which will be interesting to his countrymen, and which, at the same time they illustrate the character, and do justice to the memory of a remarkable

individual, will prove what wonders may be wrought by a union of enterprise, perseverance, and resolution, in the same mind.*

In some points of view, we apprehend, the New Zealanders are among the most extraordinary people of whom we have any knowledge. No authentic record can be found of a people more thoroughly and shockingly savage; more fierce in their passions, insatiate in their revenge, bloodthirsty in their wars, or inhuman in their treatment of enemies; and, at the same time, they are not less distinguished for the strength of their affections, unshaken attachment to their relations, grief at the loss of friends, and reverence for the memory of the dead. These extremes we know are common to all savages, but in the New Zealanders we believe they run to a much greater extent, than in any other tribes of the human race, with whom civilized men have been acquainted. In their modes of living, and in the general features of their character, they resemble the other South Sea Islanders; but they exhibit stronger contrasts, and have customs peculiar to themselves.

The climate of New Zealand is temperate, and adapted to almost every production of European growth; but the natives cultivate hardly anything, except sweet potatoes, which they call *koomeras*. These are produced in great abundance, and deposited for common use in public storehouses. The time of the koomera harvest is a season of dancing and festivity. Fern roots, wild celery, cresses, and a few other indigenous vegetables are used for food. Fish in great variety, and of good quality, is abundant. The only quadrupeds, which Captain Cook saw, were dogs and rats; but he left hogs on the island, which have since become numerous. Mr Marsden carried over horned cattle and horses, some of which were shot by the natives, because they trespassed on tabooed ground. The missionaries successfully cultivate wheat, other grain, and many kinds of garden vegetables introduced from England.

* The title of the work mentioned above is, 'A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and in Quest of a North West Passage between Asia and America; performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1779. Illustrated with a Chart, showing the Tracks of the Ships employed in the Expedition. Faithfully narrated from the original Manuscript of Mr John Ledyard. Hartford, printed and sold by Nathaniel Potter, 1783.'

The New Zealand men are tall, well formed, and athletic, with a dark brown complexion, and black hair, which is commonly straight, but sometimes curled. The features of both sexes are regular, and some of the women are accounted beautiful. The dress of men and women is the same, consisting of two mats fashioned into garments, and worn one over the other. The under garment, in form and dimensions, resembles a blanket, and is thrown over the body like a mantle, in such a manner as to leave the right arm bare; it is made of the strong silky fibres of a species of grass, intermixed with dog's hair, and closely woven or matted together. The outer garment, which they call *kakahow*, is much coarser and thicker; it is confined around the neck, and descends scarcely below the middle of the body. The *kakahow* is chiefly intended as a defence against the inclemency of the weather. The ears of the women, and frequently of the men, are perforated with large holes, having been pierced in infancy, and so distended as to receive bits of wood, feathers, bones, and the teeth of fishes, as ornaments. They also wear suspended from the neck pieces of green talk, carved into grotesque shapes somewhat resembling the human figure. The men gather their hair into a bunch at the top of the head, and confine it there with combs of wood, or of bone, and adorn it with feathers; but the hair of the women either flows loosely over their shoulders, or is cut short. In neither men nor women is any covering ever worn on the head.

The houses, or huts, of the natives are small, built with a rough frame work of wood, covered and lined with grass firmly compacted, and sometimes with the bark of trees; they are seldom sufficiently elevated to admit a person to stand erect within them; and they have one opening only, which serves the double purpose of a door and window, and which is just large enough to allow a man to creep through it on his hands and knees. The houses of the chiefs commonly have a veranda, or porch, on the side, which is fantastically ornamented with paintings and carved work. Notwithstanding this rude construction of their dwellings, the want of better ones is hardly felt by the inhabitants, since it is customary with them to eat, sleep, and cook in the open air. 'They take their rest,' says Captain Cruise, 'in a sitting posture, with their legs gathered under them; and from the

coarse texture of the outer mat, in which they envelope themselves, they have the appearance, during the night, of a number of beehives scattered in groups about a village.' Ledyard mentions the same custom, and says, that, in this situation, a New Zealander under his mat exhibits the figure of a haystack surmounted by a human head. Fires are sometimes kindled in the huts, and Mr Marsden complains bitterly of the smoke and suffocating heat, which he was compelled to endure, when he crawled into them to avoid the cold of the external atmosphere in the night.

The government of New Zealand is much like that described by Ledyard, as existing at Otaheite, and resembling, as he remarks, 'the early state of every government, which, in an unimproved and unrefined state, is ever a kind of feudal system of subordination, securing licentious liberty to a few, and dependant servility to the rest.' This prevailing characteristic of savage governments, however, is to be received with some modifications in the case of the New Zealanders. The chiefs have a feudal jurisdiction, but their authority is absolute only in times of war. Various gradations of power, and extent of possessions, pertain to different chiefs. Some hold large tracts of lands by hereditary right, and on these lands other inferior chiefs have possessions, and carry on their own cultivation, and manage their own affairs without any interference or control of the head chief. The people at large are bound to no master; they go and come as they please; and are idle or industrious as moved by the wants of nature. Over their own household, their families, domestics, and slaves, every man, as well among the lower ranks as among the chiefs themselves, has absolute power; so far the feudal system is perfect; but beyond this, neither the theoretical nor practical machinery of government seems to be anything else, than a tacit understanding between the parties, that some shall lead and others follow for mutual security, and the better protection of personal rights and property.

In time of war the case is different; all the subordinate chiefs and warriors throughout the territories of a head chief flock to his standard, and put themselves under his command. Let a chief order the humblest subject in his dominions to go and labor in his fields, to dig his lands and plant his *koome-ras*, to construct canoes, build huts, or catch fish, and his

order would not be regarded, nor could he enforce obedience; but let the cry of war be raised, and he is immediately surrounded by multitudes of submissive dependants, ready to endure any hardship that he may require, and to rush at his bidding into the heat of battle. They are no doubt in some degree prompted to this submission by their natural love of war, and hope of sharing in its spoils; it is also observed, that nearly all the secondary chiefs, within the territory of a particular head chief, are connected by family alliances either with each other, or with the head chief himself, so that from this circumstance they naturally unite in a common cause.

One of the most powerful chiefs, in those parts of the islands visited by Europeans, is called Shunghie, and in his dominions and near his residence the missionaries have established themselves. The first missionaries went to New Zealand in 1815, and four years afterwards, on Mr Marsden's second visit, he purchased of Shunghie a tract of land at Kiddeekiddee for a permanent settlement. This tract consisted of thirteen thousand acres, and was bought for forty eight axes. A formal deed was executed, signed on one part by Mr Marsden and the missionaries, in behalf of the Missionary Society, and on the other, by Shunghie and some of the principal men of his tribe. What validity this deed will have hereafter in the eyes of the savages, time must prove; up to the last accounts its obligations had been faithfully regarded. There is another missionary station at Rangheehoo, not far from Kiddeekiddee; and also a third lately established by the Wesleyan Methodists in the same vicinity. As far as we can ascertain from the latest intelligence, there are at this time from twelve to twenty English missionaries settled among the natives.

The deepest trait, perhaps, in the New Zealand character, is a passion for war; fighting is their element; to other employments they may be reluctantly brought by necessity; but to the din of battle, and the work of slaughter, they fly with an eager delight. The natives, who have resided a long time in England, and learnt the language, and become habituated to the customs of civilized life, lose none of this ferocity; their warlike propensities are revived the moment they again inhale their native atmosphere. Tooi is a remarkable instance in point. He possessed a good capacity, quickness

of parts, and an apparently amiable temper; he improved rapidly in England, and when he left that country high expectations were entertained, that he would be an important instrument in reforming his countrymen, and introducing among them some of the blessings of civilized life. He returned under the charge of the missionaries; but no sooner was he placed in the midst of his tribe, and surrounded by the scenes of his early years, than he forgot the lessons he had learnt, and the impressions he had received, during his absence, and the spirit of the savage assumed its former empire in his mind. He boasted of his deeds of death and blood in the presence of the missionaries themselves, and when reminded of his better knowledge, and asked why he did not endeavor to make his people happy by teaching them agriculture, and the arts of civilized life, he replied, that it was impossible, 'that if you told a New Zealander to work, he fell asleep; but if you spoke of fighting, he opened his eyes as wide as a teacup; that the whole bent of his mind was war; and that he looked upon fighting as fun.' In his own case Tooi's conduct verified his language.

All the tribes have fortified posts, called *Pahs*, or *Hippahs*, situated at the top of an eminence difficult of ascent, to which they resort in case of immediate danger from the attack of an enemy. These pahs are minutely described in Cook's Voyages. Where muskets have been introduced, these strong places have nearly become deserted. The implements of warfare, originally used by the natives, were the spear, mearée, and pattoo-pattoo. The spear is long, sometimes more than twenty feet, and pointed at both ends; it is grasped in the middle, and managed by the combatant with great agility and skill. The mearée is a kind of club made of stone, and worn in the girdle; and the pattoo-pattoo is a sort of wooden battle axe. With these weapons they always engage hand to hand, and the only advantage which they seek, is to take the enemy by surprise. So far had the New Zealander, by his own untutored powers, devised the means of human slaughter; but his recent acquaintance with the improvements of civilization, if it has done nothing else, has taught him more destructive and ingenious modes of warfare. He now goes into battle with bayonets, tomahawks, steel, and powder.

Several years ago the whalers from England, and the United States, began to visit the coast of New Zealand, and, as in all the South Sea Islands, to barter muskets and powder with the natives for hogs and potatoes, the only kinds of provisions which they could supply. No sooner did the chiefs understand the virtue of muskets and gunpowder in war, than they resorted to every possible means of obtaining them. They would deprive themselves of the last article of comfort and necessity, and take the food from their own mouths to buy a musket. One chief has thus collected an armory of fifty firelocks, and when an invasion is expected among any of the tribes, it is no longer inquired how many men are brought into the field, but how many muskets are numbered in the invader's ranks. On one occasion a powerful tribe was thrown into great consternation at the approach of a force weak in numbers, but armed with twelve muskets. Tooi boasted with marked delight of what he considered an instance of generalship, in driving a party of the enemy into a narrow place from which they could not escape, and then deliberately shooting them one by one to the number of twenty two. And it is, moreover, worthy of remark, that, since the introduction of firearms, wars have been more constant and bloody, the rage for killing has burnt with the more fury, in proportion as the means of doing it with the greater facility have increased.

This evil had become so serious and alarming, that the missionaries were instructed by the Board at home not to trade with the natives on any occasion with muskets and powder ; but to supply them with axes, adzes, spades, hoes, and such implements of agriculture, and the arts of life, as they most needed. The natives took umbrage at this restriction ; they were insolent and troublesome ; and the consequence was, that the missionaries were obliged to compromise, and pay dollars for what they wanted, with which the natives could purchase firearms of the whalers. It was thought for a time by the Missionary Society a desirable object, for the chiefs and principal men to visit England, and inducements were held out to them for this purpose, by offering to pay their passage, and promising them presents of such articles as should be useful on their return. Apparently allured by these promises, the great chief Shunghie concluded to make the

voyage, and accordingly he arrived in London accompanied by Whykato, another chief, on the 8th of August, 1820. Here he remained four months, during which time he received marked attentions; he was introduced to the king, caressed by the great, and every effort was made to impress him favorably with what he saw and experienced. Rich with the presents he had received, he left his benefactors in England elated at the prospect of the benefits, which they doubted not his visit would be the means of bringing to his degraded countrymen. Little did they penetrate the deep and dark purposes of Shunghie. As soon as he landed at Port Jackson, he exchanged his whole property, king George's present with the rest, for firearms and powder. With these trophies of his enterprise, he returned to his own country, and is now the greatest, the bloodiest, and most successful warrior in the northern regions of New Zealand.

The kinds of offence, which are deemed adequate causes of war, are so numerous and varied, that it seems impossible for a state of things ever to occur, in which a settled peace can continue for any length of time. The slaying of a chief in battle, or an insult offered to a tribe at any period within the remotest verge of tradition, are considered just grounds of retaliation; and as every war multiplies these offences, they are not likely to have an end.

The following account, respecting the practices of the natives in war, and the manner in which they dispose of the heads of the chiefs slain in battle, is given in the words of Mr Marsden.

‘In time of war, great honor is paid to the head of a warrior when killed in battle, if he is properly tattooed. His head is taken to the conqueror, and preserved, as the spoils of war, with respect,—as a standard, when taken from a regiment is respected by the victor.

‘It is gratifying to the vanquished to know, that the heads of their chiefs are preserved by the enemy; for when the conqueror wishes to make peace, he takes the heads of the chiefs along with him and exhibits them to their tribe. If the tribe are desirous of putting an end to the contest, they cry aloud at the sight of the heads of their chiefs, and all hostilities terminate; this is a signal that the conqueror will grant them any terms they may require. But if the tribe are determined to renew the contest, and risk the issue of another battle, they do not cry. Thus the head of a chief

may be considered as the standard of the tribe to which he belongs, and a signal of peace or war.

‘If the conqueror never intends to make peace, he will dispose of the heads of those chiefs, whom he kills in battle, to ships, or to any persons who will buy them. Sometimes they are purchased by the friends of the vanquished, and returned to their surviving relations, who hold them in the highest veneration, and indulge their natural feelings by reviewing, and weeping over them.

‘When a chief is killed in regular battle, the victors cry aloud as soon as he falls, “Throw us the man,” if he falls within the line of his own party. If the party, whose chief is dead, are intimidated, they immediately comply with the command. As soon as the victim is received, his head is immediately cut off, and a proclamation issued for all the chiefs to attend, who belong to the victorious party, to assist in performing the accustomed religious ceremony, in order to ascertain by augury, whether their god will prosper them in the present battle. If the priest, after performing the ceremony, says that their god is propitious, they are inspired with fresh courage to attack the enemy; but if the priest returns an answer, that their god will not be propitious, they quit the field of battle in sullen silence. The head, already in possession, is preserved for the chief on whose account the war was undertaken, as a satisfaction for the injury, which he, or some one of his tribe, had received from the enemy. When the war is over, and the head properly prepared, it is sent round to all the chief’s friends, as a gratification to them, and to show them that justice had been obtained from the offending party.” *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1820—1821. p. 301.*

Many heads are bought back from all Shunghie’s wars, and seen by the missionaries stuck on poles, and exhibited in other situations, so that in this respect Kiddeekiddee might not be disparaged by a comparison with the grand seignior’s good city of Constantinople. The chiefs’ heads only are preserved, or embalmed, and the mode of effecting this operation is peculiar to the New Zealanders. It is done, according to Captain Cruise, wholly by desiccation; a hole is dug in the ground, and lined with stones, which are made hot; into this the head is placed rolled up in leaves, where it remains till all the moisture, which gradually exudes, has escaped; it is then taken out and set in a current of air till it becomes thoroughly dry. When thus prepared, it resists the action of the atmosphere, and the skin and muscular parts

are nearly as imperishable as the bone itself. Several of these heads have latterly been purchased by the whalers, and brought to Europe and the United States. One was recently exhibited with the Egyptian Mummy in Boston, the features of which were full and regular, and the hair and teeth as perfect as in life. The mode of preserving, or embalming the human body by desiccation, is said to have been practised in Sicily, but although the flesh was made perfectly dry and hard, yet the features were hideously distorted, and nothing remained to call to mind the image of the living person. This practice seems to be essential to the customs of war in New Zealand, since, on the declaration of peace between two parties, an exchange of the heads of all the chiefs killed on both sides takes place, although several years may have elapsed from the commencement of hostilities. How the modern habit of selling the heads to foreigners will affect these negotiations, or what compromise is to be made, remains for the New Zealand statesmen in their wisdom to determine.

The war dance is common to all the tribes before they engage in battle. It is performed almost at the moment of going into action, and is represented as a most frightful exhibition; the performers come together without regularity; they jump from the ground with violent gestures, rending the air with savage yells, distorting their countenances, and working themselves up to a wild and furious frenzy. In this state of frantic excitement they rush upon the enemy, inspired, as they imagine, with new courage, and armed with greater strength.

They also have orators to quicken their sense of injury, and rouse them to avenge an insult. Mr Marsden heard two of these speak on one occasion, when they wished to stir up the people immediately to seize their arms, and repel an encroachment just made on their borders by a neighboring tribe. The first orator rose with a dignified and commanding aspect, and held a weapon of war in his hand, which he brandished as he spoke; his gestures were strong and expressive, but his language was calm and discreet; he exhorted the chief, Matanghee, to proceed with courage and firmness in vindicating the rights of his tribe, but still he was willing to come to a reconciliation with the offenders, if they

would make suitable reparation. When this harangue was ended, another orator sprang forward, grasped a long spear in his hand, and began to declaim with vehemence against the audacity of the enemy in the outrage committed ; he recounted from the beginning the differences between the two tribes, pointed out the injustice and insolence of the opposite party, and chided the cautious wisdom of the speaker who went before him ; his countenance glowed with the fire of indignation, he stamped with his foot, brandished his spear in a threatening manner, and closed his long address by affirming, that no other method remained of retrieving the insulted dignity of the tribe, but to take up arms and fight. To both speakers the people listened with profound stillness and attention ; but when the debate was closed, they flew to arms, and Matanghee went out with a party of his men to examine the movements of the enemy. They returned at night highly indignant at what they had witnessed, for it seems the slaves of Moodeewhy, a chief in the vicinity, had been killing Matanghee's pigs ; and this was a subject to call forth the eloquence of orators, kindle the wrath of chiefs, and stir up the fury of the populace. It was resolved to take exemplary vengeance on the morrow, and preparations were made for the coming conflict.

Meantime the fire of resentment was not suffered to cool. The following is Mr Marsden's account of the venerable Warreemaddoo's speech on the occasion.

‘ In the evening, old Warreemaddoo threw of his mat, took his spear, and began to address his tribe and the chiefs. He made strong appeals to them against the injustice and ingratitude of Moodeewhy's conduct ; recited many injuries, which he and his tribe had suffered from Moodeewhy for a long period ; mentioned instances of his bad conduct, at the time his father's bones were removed from the Ahoodu Pah to their family vault ; stated acts of kindness which he had shown to Moodeewhy at different times ; and said that he had twice saved his tribe from total ruin. In the present instance, Moodeewhy had killed three of his hogs ; one of them was very large and fat, being two years old. Every time he mentioned the large hog, the recollection of his loss seemed to nerve afresh his aged sinews. He shook his hoary head, stamped with indignant rage, and poised his quivering spear. He exhorted his tribe to be bold and courageous, and declared that he would head them in the morning against the enemy, and, rather than he would

submit, he would be killed and eaten. All that they wanted was firmness and courage; he knew well the enemies whom he had to meet; their hearts did not lie deep; and, if they were resolutely opposed, they would yield. His oration continued nearly an hour, and all listened to him with great attention.'

It may be satisfactory to know, that these important state differences, which threatened to involve two tribes in a bloody contest, were amicably settled by the interference of Mr Marsden, and his companion Mr Kendall, though not till after much parade of war on the part of Matanghee, and the resolute Warreemaddoo.

The most curious specimens of art and ingenuity, which have been seen among the New Zealanders, are their war canoes. These are various in their dimensions and workmanship. The largest seen by Captain Cruise belonged to a chief of Shunghie's tribe; it was eighty four feet long, six wide, and five deep, made of a single cowry tree, hollowed out, and the sides raised about two feet with planks firmly fastened and connected by cords made of a species of flax plant. At the stem and stern was fixed a post fifteen feet high, which, together with the sides of the canoe, were ornamented with carved work painted red, and strung with a profusion of feathers. This canoe was propelled by ninety naked men, who regulated the movements of their oars by a song, which was led by three men, and in which they all joined; the owner sat at the stern and steered. This canoe moved with great rapidity, and would cross the Bay of Islands in perfect safety, when the sea was so rough as to render it imprudent to lower the ship's boats.

The New Zealanders are cannibals. It was for a long time doubted whether there existed on the globe a race of men, addicted to the custom of devouring one another. When Cook in his First Voyage mentioned this, as the practice of the New Zealanders, his account was discredited by many respectable persons, because it was founded rather on circumstances, than demonstrative evidence. In his Second Voyage, however, he assures us, that he had ocular proof of the fact; and since his time, the melancholy testimony has been such, not only in New Zealand, but in other South Sea Islands, as to put the question forever at rest. Ledyard speaks of two instances of cannibalism, which came under

his own observation, one at the Sandwich Islands, the day after they were discovered, and the other on the northwest coast of America. The stories related by Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, and other ancients, about anthropophagi, which have been regarded as fables in modern times, are more than realized at this day in many islands of the southern ocean.

During Cook's first visit to New Zealand, a boat's crew from his vessel was seized while on shore in some retired place, and, as the natives afterwards confessed, the men were killed and eaten. The French navigator, Marion de Fresne, with seventeen of his men, suffered the same fate. He had been sent out to Otaheite to take back a native, whom Bougainville had brought to France, and on his return he stopped at New Zealand, where he was on friendly and intimate terms with the natives for thirty three days, before they perpetrated the horrible act of treachery and inhumanity, which ended his life. While on shore with a party of his men, as he imagined in perfect security, the natives suddenly rose upon them and massacred every individual except one seamen. Their surviving companions were doomed to witness the horrid spectacle of their being cut in pieces, and devoured by the cannibals.

In the year 1810, the English ship *Boyd* went to New Zealand for the purpose of procuring a cargo of spars. She had on board seventy two persons, besides four or five New Zealanders returning from Port Jackson. One of these natives, whose name was Tarra, became dissatisfied at what he deemed ill treatment during the voyage, but concealed his resentment; and when the ship approached the coast he induced the captain to go into Wangarooma, which he said was the best place for procuring a cargo, and was near his native village. Tarra appeared friendly, and expressed a constant readiness to promote the objects of the voyage, till he found the crew of the *Boyd* separated and off their guard, when the natives rushed upon them at a concerted signal, and massacred every person of the seventy two, except one woman and two children. After this deed was done, a cask of gunpowder was found on board, which was placed between the decks, and Tarra's father, by way of trying its virtue, snapped his musket over it; the upper deck was blown off by the explosion, and the lives of many natives lost. The

hull of the vessel floated into shoal water, and grounded, where it was visited by the officers of the *Dromedary*. They likewise saw Tarra and many of the persons engaged in the massacre, by whom they were told, that all the people belonging to the Boyd were cut in quarters, distributed among the different families of the tribe, and devoured.

But we have heard of nothing more shocking in the accounts of cannibalism, than the narrative of incidents, which have come under the immediate notice of the missionaries within the last two years and a half, as contained in their journals. We cannot do so much violence to the feelings of our readers, as to quote the instances to which we refer, with all the horrible circumstances accompanying them. When Shunghie returned from England with his fresh supply of firearms, he immediately began to meditate new wars, and resolved to take ample vengeance on all his old enemies. Great preparations were made; the surrounding tribes were summoned to join him, and he departed to seek his foes at the head of a formidable armament of war canoes, filled with fighting men. He was successful to the extent of his wishes, and in a few months the whole expedition returned with numerous prisoners of war. And now followed a scene, which words have not power to express, and which humanity shudders to contemplate. The victims, who had been taken alive on the fields of death, were only reserved for a more dreadful end; Shunghie and his people butchered and ate them in cold blood; and for three successive days the missionaries beheld these barbarians feasting on the prisoners of war, whom they had brought home; even from the doors of their own dwellings, the horrid sight met their eyes, and on one occasion Shunghie invited them to partake of his repast.

The excess was no doubt greater at this time, by reason of a son in law of Shunghie's, and some other relatives of the family, having been killed in battle. Shunghie's wife, and other women of his household, seemed frantic with rage; they murdered several captives with their own hands, and the children apparently took delight in imbuing their hands in human blood. We might enlarge on these scenes, but we forbear. What we have said is enough to prove the existence of cannibalism, in its most barbarous and distressing forms, even among a people with whom the Europeans have had a cor-

stant intercourse for the last twenty years, and who have enjoyed more than common opportunities for becoming acquainted with the advantages of civilization.*

Notwithstanding these ferocious habits, this refinement of savageness, the New Zealanders have strong natural affections; their family ties are close and indissoluble; their grief at the death of a friend is extreme, and refuses consolation; it is often clamorous, but this is no more than the overflowing of a heart untrained to the discipline of concealing its emotions, or suppressing the impulses of nature. They weep and mourn for many days, even months. On Mr Marsden's second visit, he met with persons whose friends had died during his absence, and the associations, which his presence called up, put them immediately to talking of their departed friends, and brought floods of tears into their eyes. Suicide is common upon the sudden bereavement of a near relation. Shunghie's daughter was bound and watched, that she might not destroy herself, when she heard the fatal tidings of her husband's death in battle; her sister in law, who had suffered the same calamity, hung herself before she could be put in safe keeping. It is a usual occurrence, in seasons of mourning, for women to cut their faces and bodies in a hideous manner with a shell, that they may testify, by mingling blood with their tears, the depth and sincerity of their grief.

If these are nevertheless the virtues of a savage, the rank shoots of nature, rather than the fair growth of a cultivated soil, it may be added, that the natives are allowed not to be deficient in the milder virtues of social life. For the most part they are gentle and tractable, neither tyrannical in their families, harsh to their children, dogmatizing to their equals, nor oppressive and troublesome to their neighbors. They express a pleasure in having the missionaries teach their chil-

* For numerous particulars respecting this subject, see the *London Missionary Register* for November, 1823, pp. 504—511. Also, *Cruise's Residence in New Zealand*, pp. 97, 110, 112, 125, 140, 184, 286. Mr Marsden mentions the following curious incident, which happened at an interview he had with three chiefs at Pookanewee. 'At length,' says he, 'the conversation led to the origin of eating human flesh. They first alleged, that it originated from the largest fishes of the sea eating other fishes, and some even eating their own kind; that large fishes eat small ones; small fishes eat insects; dogs will eat men, and men will eat dogs, and dogs devour one another; the birds of the air also devour one another; and one god will devour another god.' *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for 1820—1821*, p. 340.

dren, and permit them to collect as many as they can into schools, or come to their huts and give instructions to single families. To be sure, the missionaries can use no restraint for this purpose, but it does not appear that they are ever opposed, or that the children are chided for going to be taught. An instance of fidelity in a native girl is mentioned by Captain Cruise. She was living with Mr Hall, the missionary, and when his house was rudely entered by a party of plunderers, she held Mrs Hall's infant child in her arms, and so much was she alarmed at the menacing aspect of the intruders, that she fled with her charge from the house. Crossing the river Wytangy in a canoe, she concealed herself in a wood, where she remained two days, till all danger was over, and then brought back the child in safety to its parents. Nor are these daughters of cannibals unsusceptible of the tender passion. Ledyard mentions an amusing adventure between a New Zealand girl, and a young sailor on board Cook's vessel, with whom she fell violently in love. She enticed him on shore just as the vessel was about to sail, and so much did her charms and assiduity operate on the youthful seaman, that he agreed to elope with her into the interior, and had actually commenced the enterprise, when a body of his comrades, who had been despatched by their commander, overtook and brought him back, much against his own inclination, and, as will not be doubted, to the unutterable grief of the enamored damsel.

Among the customs, which prevail in New Zealand in common with all the South Sea Islands, are those denominated *tattooing*, and *tabooing*.

The *tattoo* consists of artificial punctures in the skin, so applied as to become permanent, and represent certain figures according to the fancy of the individual, or the fashion of a tribe. The operation is described by voyagers as nearly the same, in all the islands scattered throughout the great southern ocean. Black lines are first drawn on the part to be tattooed, delineating the figure intended to be impressed; in these lines the skin is punctured by a kind of pointed chisel, made of the wing of a bird fixed in a handle. After the point of this instrument has been dipped in a black coloring fluid, it is gently struck on the other end with a small stick, till it pierces through the skin, and causes the blood to flow

out ; the operation is so painful to the person on whom it is performed, that frequent respites of several days are necessary for the wounds to heal ; but when the work is done, it leaves a black ridge, which never disappears. The tattooing will become less distinct with age, and those who value themselves for the beauty of their persons, or the dignity of their stations, have it frequently repeated.

New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands are said to be the only places in which the face is tattooed ; and it is remarkable, as observed in Cook's Third Voyage, that among the natives of the former, it is done in beautiful spiral volutes, while among the latter, the tattooed lines are straight, and cross each other at right angles. The figures on the arms and other parts of the body are not uniform. Mr Mariner says, that in the Tonga Islands numerous patterns are kept, and the individual chooses such as pleases his fancy. The women are seldom tattooed, except slightly on the hands and arms, over the eyebrows, on the upper lip, and in a few instances on the tip of the tongue, a custom, of which Cook puzzled himself in vain to find out the meaning. In New Zealand a man is regarded with very little respect, who is not tattooed, and, laying the consideration of beauty out of the question, few are willing to endure the taunts and reproaches, to which a want of this symbol of manhood and courage exposes them.

The custom itself, in its origin, was probably a device to assist the memory. Marks were made on the body in commemoration of some signal event, such as the death of a chief, of a friend, or the result of a great battle. They are sometimes used for similar purposes at the present day. They are also employed as the distinguishing badges of tribes, as well as of chiefs and men of elevated rank. Of the New Zealanders this is particularly true ; the pattern after which the face of a chief is tattooed is a kind of coat of arms, which descends from generation to generation ; they call it *amoco*, and when Shunghie signed the deed with the missionaries, he impressed on the paper the figure of his *amoco*. An officer, who had a coat of arms on a watch seal, was asked whether it was the *amoco* of his tribe. We thus see, that this singular custom has its foundation in purposes of utility, and accomplishes

ends, which other savages attain in a much ruder and more imperfect manner. The ornamental has gradually been engrafted into the useful ; but this union has not diminished the value of the device, while it has added something to the stock of human enjoyment, and perhaps to human advancement, by exercising the imagination, and quickening the principles of taste.

The *taboo* is another custom peculiar to the islands in the Pacific Ocean, and neither less singular, nor less universal, than the one just mentioned. The word is so extensive in its application and import, as not to admit of a very close definition. In general, anything which is consecrated, or considered sacred, or which is forbidden to be touched, is said to be tabooed. The term is applied indifferently to persons and things, and denotes equally the object prohibited, the prohibition itself, and the persons against whom the prohibition is intended to act. A piece of ground is tabooed by consecrating it ; the consecration itself is a taboo ; and the people who are forbidden to intrude upon it are said to be tabooed.

Many taboos are laid by direct imposition for specific purposes, and when they have the nature of a consecration, they are imposed by a priest. Burial places are tabooed in a formal manner, and are not to be entered except on particular occasions, and with certain ceremonies. Sick men are sometimes tabooed, from motives of superstition, and left to die, as no one will venture to approach them with food, or to give them any assistance. The public stores containing the koomeras, which constitute the principal food of the natives of New Zealand, are tabooed immediately after the koomera harvest, and when whole villages are sacked and plundered by an enemy, it is rare that the taboo on these depositories is violated. At a certain season of the year a species of fish is caught, which is reserved for winter food ; when the vessel, in which Mr Marsden went to New Zealand, approached the coast, a great many people were busy in catching this kind of fish and drying it on the shore ; but they would sell none, alleging that it was tabooed and could not be disposed of, nor eaten. The same prohibition is laid on any kind of food, when there is danger of a scarcity ; and newly planted fields are tabooed by marks, or signals, to prevent persons from

trampling on them. Animals known to have trespassed are killed. In these latter instances, and others of a similar character which might be mentioned, we see a very wise and salutary operation of the taboo system, in providing for the exigencies of the future; and in a state of society, where the government and manners are so unsettled, the value of such a rule commanding the respect of the whole population may be easily estimated.

Besides this method of tabooing by consecration, or positive injunction, many taboos are accidental, or become such by certain acts on the part of the tabooed person. Whoever touches a dead body, whether by accident or intentionally, and women, who attend funerals as mourners, are tabooed from taking any food in their hands for a stated length of time. They are fed by other persons till the time expires. In the Tonga Islands a person becomes tabooed by touching a chief, as also by eating in the presence of a superior without turning his back to him, and in both cases the same penalty of not feeding himself with his own hands follows. This taboo can be taken off, however, by the ceremony of putting the palms of the hands to the sole of a chief's foot; and a chief of higher rank can remove a taboo occasioned by touching one of a lower. The great chief Tootonga, being above all the rest, no one could take off the taboo caused by coming in contact with him, and to remedy the inconvenience, which would otherwise occur in his absence, he left a consecrated bowl, which had the same virtue on being touched as the soles of his feet. Mr Mariner says, that Tootonga devoted to this purpose a pewter basin, which had been given to his father by Captain Cook. The same custom of restricting the handling of food exists in New Zealand. When Shunghie sailed for England, his aged mother, whom the missionaries believed to be a hundred years old, was tabooed, and some days afterwards she was seen wandering on the beach with her white locks floating in the wind, and accompanied only by a single person, who held a basket and fed her with koomeras as she required.

The penalty for breaking a taboo varies according to the degree of sacredness, which is supposed to be attached to the particular kind of taboo violated. It does not appear, that any civil penalties are instituted, or corporal punishments in-

flicted ; the transgression seems to be considered as wholly an offence against the gods, for which an atonement is necessary, either by a sacrifice, or some ceremony, the particulars of which have been defined and established by custom. Mr Mariner relates a remarkable incident in illustration of this point. Palavali, a chief in the Tonga Islands, was absent one day at some distance from his village with half a dozen of his men, when he suddenly came upon four of his enemies belonging to another tribe. They were near a tabooed enclosure, and Palavali sprang forward, that he might overtake them before they should gain a refuge in that hallowed spot. He came up just in time to give one man a mortal blow as he was clambering over the reed work, which surrounded the enclosure, and he fell dead on the tabooed ground. Palavali was struck with terror at what he had done, and hastened back to the village to ascertain from a priest in what manner he could avert the anger of the gods. The sacrifice of a child was declared to be the smallest atonement, which the gods would accept, and accordingly one of the most promising children in the tribe, of about two years old, was immediately selected for the purpose and strangled. A few days afterwards Palavali was mortally wounded in a conflict with an enemy ; he survived for a short time, but would not suffer the broken spear to be drawn from his body, saying that his fate was just, and decreed by the gods, as a punishment of his recent offence. From this incident we learn with what reverence the taboo is regarded, and how powerful its influence must be over the minds of the people.

It may hence be inferred, that the universal custom of tabooing, as well as of tattooing, originated in necessity ; it answers the same ends with savages, as laws do in a civilized state ; it is a potent engine of government, and communicates to the rules of civil and political intercourse almost the only strength they could have, among such a people as the South Sea Islanders. It is not surprising, that superstition should mingle deeply with this custom ; its power and its value chiefly depend on this circumstance ; superstition tyrannizes over the mind, and the tyranny it exercises is suited to act on the intellect merged in ignorance and barbarism. It will naturally run to absurd and revolting extremes ; but its office will be executed ; it will restrain passions, which nothing else could

restrain ; and tame the ferocity and soften the heart, which would bid defiance to the authority of reason, the persuasions of conscience, the force of law, and the power of man. With many tribes the taboo extends to all vices and criminal actions, such as theft, lying, fraud, and whoever is guilty of these is said to have broken the taboo. Here we have an actual code of laws, written in the memory of the people, and descending from age to age ; not so perfect, perhaps, as if they received the benefit of annual legislation, yet they are well fitted to the stage of human advancement to which the minds they control have arrived.

Little is known of the religion of the New Zealanders, for the reason probably that there is little to be learnt. They believe in the existence of invisible, spiritual agents, who have control over the winds, the waves of the sea, the weather, and, to a certain extent, of their own persons. These spirits are denominated *Atuas*, and it is supposed that death is caused by the presence of an *Atua*. They believe that chiefs and persons of distinction exist after death, or become *Atuas*, but *cookees*, or slaves, they suppose to have no being after this life. They have various modes of frightening away the *Atuas*, when they do not desire their presence. Shunghie fired guns for this purpose, at the time he removed the bones of his son in law, who had been killed in battle. They have numerous priests, whose principal employment is to impose taboos, regulate the weather, still the winds when they are too high, and raise them when the canoes are becalmed. They were surprised that the missionaries should pray every day, and said they saw no motive for praying, except when they wanted the assistance of an *Atua*.

The language of New Zealand resembles, in its outlines, the kindred dialects spoken in all the South Sea Islands. Otaheite is fifteen hundred miles from New Zealand, and yet the language of the former so nearly resembles that of the latter, that the natives of the two islands understand each other without difficulty. Omai, the Otaheitan, who was taken to England by Captain Cook as he returned from his second voyage, and who went back with him on his third voyage by way of New Zealand, could understand the language with ease, and served as interpreter between the natives and the English, although he had never before been in the country,

nor seen any of its inhabitants. Ledyard has written out a vocabulary of several words, representing the same things in the two languages. In a large portion of these words there is no difference, and in others the difference is slight. Mr Samuel Lee of Cambridge, England, has lately constructed a Grammar and Vocabulary of the New Zealand language, aided by the manuscript papers of the missionaries, and by the chiefs who resided in England. It is particularly remarkable of this language, as well as of the Tonga and Malayan, of which Grammars have been made, that it has no declension of nouns nor conjugation of verbs. In nouns, the purposes of declension are answered by particles and prepositions; and in verbs, the distinctions of person, tense, and mode, are determined by adverbs, pronouns, and other parts of speech. From this feature of the language it follows, that the words, arranged in the order of syntax, are not affected in their forms or terminations by the influence of any other words; they are placed in a natural order, and their meaning is ascertained, not from any alteration in the words themselves, either by suffixes, prefixes, or changes of termination. The language is easily acquired, abounding in the vowel sounds, and harmonious to the ear.

The plan, upon which the missionaries have established themselves in New Zealand, promises ultimately to be of essential service to the natives. Their numbers are composed of teachers, and practical artificers and agriculturalists. This is the true mode of diffusing the knowledge and benefits of a pure religion; savages must be civilized before they can be christians, and civilization is a slow process, which can be carried on only by the force of example, and by repeated efforts to make the untutored savage feel by actual observation and experience, that the means of his enjoyments will be multiplied in proportion as he abandons his old habits, adopts the arts of peace and refinement, and yields to the spirit of moral and religious culture. Great is the praise due to those persons, who are willing, for the attainment of so noble and benevolent an object, to sacrifice what mankind usually consider the choicest blessings of life, the sweets of home, the ties of friendship, the security of a well ordered society, and take up their residence in an island on the opposite side of the globe, amidst tribes of wild and restless can-

nibals, whose delight is the destruction of their own species, and who kill and devour one another, without even a sense of the iniquity of a deed so horrible and shocking to humanity. The moral courage, the selfdenial, and singleness of purpose, which induce men to resign all the comforts, that the world in its happiest regions can bestow, and deliberately resolve to pass their days in these abodes of darkness, and danger, and privation, are enough to enlist the sympathy of the benevolent heart, to excite a deep interest in their welfare, and inspire an earnest wish, that they may have the consolation of success in the work of piety and goodness to which they are devoted.

The recent accounts are not very favorable ; a gloom has been thrown over their prospects by the wars, which raged with more than usual violence after Shunghie's return. These turbulent times seemed to communicate a greater degree of fierceness to the character of the natives ; they were less respectful to the missionaries, breaking into their yards and houses, and stealing, or forcibly seizing, whatsoever came in their way. The missionaries complained to Shunghie, but he offered no redress ; he turned them off with a broad laugh, saying, that such was the custom of his country. In truth, he shunned them after his return, and evidently regarded them with no friendly eye. He told them in plain terms, that they had deceived him in affirming that king George would not allow them to sell muskets, for he had seen king George, and ascertained that he had given no such orders. But notwithstanding this coolness on Shunghie's part, he kept up an outside show of friendship, occasionally breakfasted with them, and permitted them as before to instruct the children and cultivate the lands. At the date of their last letters they had reason to hope, that a few weeks would change the face of things, and that they should be able to live among the natives without serious molestation, and prosecute their labors with encouraging success.
